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CHAPTER 19

ART AND ARCHITECTURE, A.D. 193–337

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I. INTRODUCTION

This period (193 to 337) is one of the most significant in the history of Roman art, yet paradoxically it is perhaps the most elusive to evaluate: the sources are patchy, the art itself varied and often apparently discontinuous in style and form, and scholarly opinion on it frequently divided. In short, the sum of its parts does not always seem to match the importance of the whole.

In art historical terms its importance derives from the fact that this is a transitional period: it follows the high-point of the mid-second century and ends just before the full consolidation of the late antique art in the later fourth and fifth centuries (described in the following volume). But its forms and styles are more heterogeneous than in either of these periods, which makes them more problematic to discuss. First, there is a risk of doing so primarily in terms of what came before or after, particularly since the period contains elements which are the conclusions of certain trends, and others which are beginnings. A case in point is the crucial question of how to evaluate the shifts in form and style from naturalism to abstraction which occur increasingly in later Roman art, that is whether they signify artistic decline or, more positively, changed priorities. As discussed more fully in *CAH* XIII (Elsner (2000) 739–42), this debate is central to the evaluation of art in the later fourth and fifth centuries, yet it inevitably draws on examples from this period in its arguments, often colouring them with its teleology. This makes it particularly important to be clear that we are looking at the art of this period for itself, and in its own terms.[1]

Second, there is the question of subjectivity in scholarly descriptions and analysis. The particular qualities of the art of this time (perhaps more than in many others) are open, in the last analysis, to subjective judgement,

[1] See J. R. Clarke (1979) 88 on how Blake (1940) and Becatti (1961) evaluated third-century black and white mosaics (in terms of decline): 'One is left with the feeling that somehow these mosaics are of poorer quality than those of the preceding century, precisely because they seem to fail in the very ways in which second-century mosaics achieve distinction.'

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since the defining signs of 'transition', 'regionalism' or even the 'anxiety' seen as so characteristic of the third century may ultimately lie in the eye of the beholder. This can lead to some categorical assertions: Breckenridge, for instance, writing about imperial portraiture states that 'At sometime during the rule of the Severan dynasty the transition was made between classic and late antique art. The exact moment is a matter of choice and emphasis.'[2] This may promise some reassuring certainty, but in fact there are unlikely to be exact moments from which to choose. For in the full range of visual arts the transition between the classical style to the early medieval and Byzantine is not a straight line of evolution but a series of zigzags which moves backwards and forwards from versions of one style to another: there is no single moment when the boundary is conclusively crossed, though with the development of Christian art and the emergence of a more homogeneous style in the mid-fourth century it is reasonable to say that the transition has been largely made. Social anxiety is another case: the third century in particular is often described as a time of crisis and uncertainty, for individuals as well as for the state, and of a more urgent searching after spirituality. This view is also adopted by art historians, especially when describing portraits;[3] but there can be a real danger of developing a circular argument since looking out for anxiety and spirituality without establishing clear diagnostic criteria inevitably predetermines how the art is to be read, which may in turn preempt its usefulness as evidence about contemporary society.

A central question to be asked of the art and architecture of this period is how far they show real transition of style, in the sense of showing some continuous and organic (if disjointed) progression, and how they reconcile traditions from the past with innovations suited to a fast-changing world. Towards answering this, the chapter will offer a brief survey of some of the main issues and developments, and then go on to look in closer detail at three particular cases.

II. ART AND ARCHITECTURE, A.D. 193–337: A SURVEY

The reflexive relationship between art and society is particularly evident in this period, with art reflecting social developments and also shaping them.[4]

Art and architecture had a major role in creating the imperial image and in establishing a new Christian empire. In turn, the production of art

[2] Breckenridge (1981) 503–4; cf. Mathew (1943) 65: 'But the fact of a third century transition is patent, and the period from AD 253–268 remains one of its most significant episodes.'

[3] E.g. Bianchi-Bandinelli (1971) 3; McCann (1981) 624. For an argument for the importance of historical context: Smith (1997).

[4] For a concise summary and review of modern scholarship on factors governing the development of art in the third century: Wood (1986) 11–25.

was affected by particular political events and social changes. Economic uncertainties limited resources of skills, materials and patronage at times,[5] while political changes – barbarian incursions, secessions, partition of the empire – all contributed to marked variations in prosperity and stability across the empire which inevitably show up in artistic production. So for the mid-third century public monuments are few, leaving private portraits, sarcophagi and mosaics as the major sources, but in the fourth century the balance is redressed, with more public building and imperial commissions. The increasingly structured society, in which individuals were subordinated to the group, had an impact on the development of style and form (as for instance has been argued for the later part of the period by L'Orange),[6] while the enhanced status of the emperor and court ceremonial led to new themes in iconography and building types.[7] Intellectual and religious movements also affected the development in art of this period. Neo-Platonism, for example the work of the philosopher Plotinus, stressed the value of inner qualities and concepts, in contrast to external appearance and perception on which naturalistic art had been based.[8] The growing importance of Christians as patrons of the arts, visible from the mid-third century, was enhanced by the Edict of Milan in A.D. 313, which restored certain property rights to them and gave freedom of worship to all. Before then Christian religious art was limited in effect to funerary contexts – catacombs and sarcophagi – but the Peace of the Church opened the way for new themes and iconography as well as new media. In short, this period involved a number of powerful situations that affected the production of art across a range of fronts: their influence as external factors in the formation of style and iconography and in the actual creation of monuments should not be underestimated.

As for internal factors in their development, the art and architecture of this period have some persistent interests which are visible through all their diversity. Above all, there is the tension between flat surface and fully modelled forms which is explored in many ways and across different media. In portrait sculpture, for instance, it underlies some apparently substantial changes in style, from classicizing portraits of Gallienus (for example) in which volume is suggested by subtle modelling of forms (Fig. 1), to the more abstract styles of tetrarchic portraiture where volume is indicated more as a geometric solid, with features marked more as linear surface patterns (Fig. 2). Technique had an important part in this, especially the use (throughout the third century) of the running drill to heighten chiaroscuro

[5] Shortage of skills is often cited as a cause of a perceived 'decline' in standards; for evidence for shortages of architects and craftsmen in the early fourth century, see Constantine's moves to exempt them and their families from public service etc: *CTh* XIII.4.1–2.

[6] L'Orange (1965). [7] MacCormack (1981). [8] Elsner (1995); cf. (2000) 751–5.

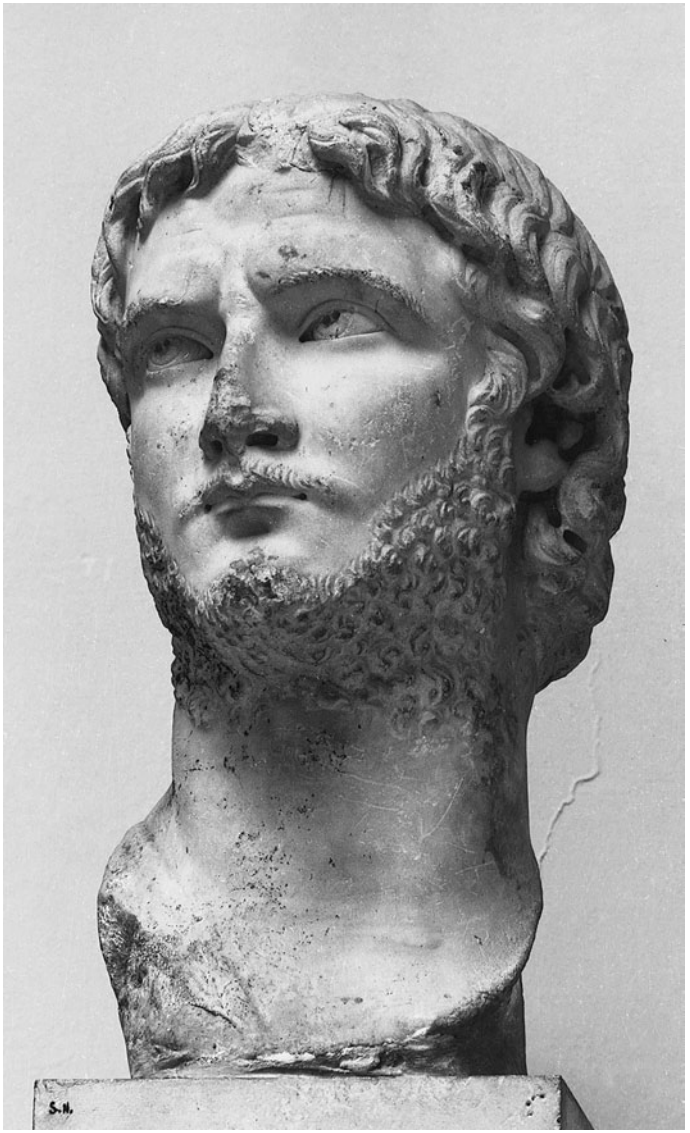

Fig. 1 Portrait of Gallienus from the Roman forum, A.D. 260–5

effects and indicate volume without actually modelling it. Another medium which tussled with this question was mosaic, where figured scenes, with their own depth and volume, were applied to the flat surfaces of walls, vaults and floors (see below); in this period it increasingly abandoned interest in the third dimension, evolving flat, all-over designs for floors, and setting

Fig. 2 Two tetrarchs from porphyry group, Venice

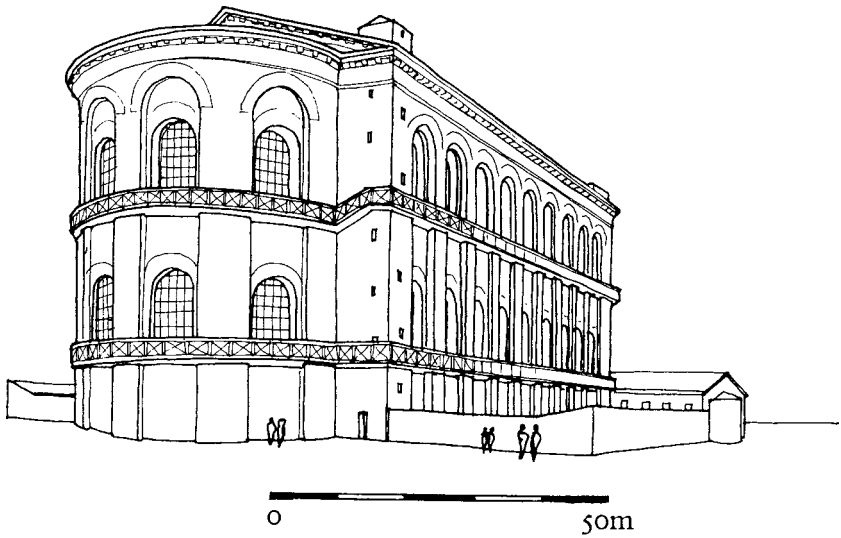

Fig. a Trier basilica: reconstructed view of exterior

figured scenes on walls and vaults against plain, light backgrounds.[9] In architecture too, it is possible to see a similar tension which is expressed in terms of the building's form and its decoration: typical of this is the early fourth-century basilica at Trier (Fig. a), where the austerity of the exterior offset the elaborate decoration and ceremonial which happened within.[10]

In many ways this tension makes a more straightforward viewpoint for observing the changes in the art and architecture of this period, than do other approaches which centre on 'classical' and 'non-classical' features and their relative prevalence, since these still tend to contain judgemental overtones derived from notions of 'decline' (see above). Instead, this view involves two fundamentally different styles of artistic representation, one concerned with the illusion of depth and modelled volume, and the other that is two dimensional and linear. Furthermore, they can be linked to another dichotomy which is explored in the art of this period, that is between the representation of the perceived world through the naturalism of the Greek tradition, or as concept through more schematic forms. (Witness the contrasting forms of the reused Hadrianic roundels and the Constantinian friezes on the arch of Constantine in Fig. 6.)

[9] E.g. late third-century vault mosaic in Mausoleum M of the cemetery below St Peter's (with a yellow ground, presaging the gold of the fourth and fifth century to suggest ethereal light): Dunbabin (1999) 249–50, fig. 265.

[10] Ward-Perkins (1981) 442–5.

Fig. 3 Arch of Septimius Severus, Rome

The first part of the period, roughly co-terminous with the Severans, was characterized by the continuation of stylistic developments which had begun to emerge in the later second century. Many of these were already visible on the column of Marcus Aurelius which was completed around A.D. 193 after the emperor's death. Prominent was the coloristic treatment of surfaces and a move away from the balanced compositions and figure-style of Hadrianic classicism, with dramatic poses and use of frontality; surfaces and structures were broken-up or recast as if to defamiliarize long-established forms. These traits all appear, and to heightened effect in Severan art. On public monuments they are found, for instance, in the treatment of scenes in the panels on the arch of Septimius in Rome (erected in A.D. 203: Fig. 3), in the two dimensionality of the imperial figures on the arch of the Argentarii (dedicated A.D. 204: Fig. 4), in the deeply cut reliefs which decorated the Severan basilica at Lepcis, and in the frontal figures of the emperor and his sons in the triumphal procession from the arch at Lepcis

Fig. 4 Panel from arch of Argentarii, Rome, showing Septimius Severus and Julia Domna sacrificing

(A.D. 203).[11] They can be seen too on one of the finest pieces of private art, the so-called Badminton sarcophagus depicting the triumph of Dionysus and Seasons: smooth, polished surfaces contrast with the deep-cut background and the drilling of rougher textures like the hair.[12] In terms of architecture this time has been described as 'the highpoint of Roman construction'.[13]

[11] Kleiner (1992) 329–32 and 340–4. [12] McCann (1978) no. 17. [13] By DeLaine (1997) 10.

Fig. 5 'Ludovisi' sarcophagus

The Severan emperors built extensively and grandly in Rome (especially after the fire of A.D. 191).[14] The huge baths of Caracalla were built between A.D. 212 and 216 to a rigidly symmetrical plan around a central axis. Their imposing spaces were decorated with a magnificent collection of sculptures, many specially commissioned for the baths and including colossal statues (such as the 'Farnese Hercules') and copies of hellenistic masterpieces (such as the Punishment of Dirce, the so-called 'Farnese Bull').[15]

From the Severans to the last quarter of the third century the picture is more changeable. Some of the most striking pieces of this period are portraits of soldier emperors such as Maximinus Thrax and Philip the Arab, which derive their power from a combination of modelled volumes and detailed linear treatment of features such as the eyes, hair and beard.[16] In contrast, portraits of Gallienus show a range of styles, rather as those of Septimius Severus had done, but bringing back a softer classicizing treatment of form (cf. Fig. 1). This retrospective philhellenism of Gallienus led some scholars in the past to speak of a Gallienic renaissance, which linked back to the art of Augustus and Hadrian,[17] but again it is probably more useful to see this as a sign of the restless changes that took place in the visual arts of this time. These are also captured in the great 'Ludovisi' battle sarcophagus of the mid-third century which is decorated dramatically with figures carved in high relief (Fig. 5).[18] Temporal structures have been broken up: instead of a sequence of coherent narrative episodes the battle is shown as a series of individual engagements which are used as a foil to the single victorious figure who presides almost iconically at the centre.

From the last quarter of the third century the momentum grows towards what is described in *CAH* XIII (p. 736) as 'one of the great transitions in the history of western art'. Forms become flatter, figures acquire an almost iconic status, and context and the intrinsic meaning are often powerful forces in shaping their form. In portraiture the images of the tetrarchs express these features almost to the extreme, as is illustrated by the famous group at Venice (Fig. 2). Worked in porphyry (a hard stone from Egypt much favoured for imperial statuary at the time), the figures are expressed as abstract, geometric forms, on to which details are inscribed, rather than moulded, in a series of schematized patterns. Any sense of personal individuality is sacrificed for the group effect. These features continue in the reliefs created for the arch of Constantine about fifteen years later. In the scene of Constantine giving money (to take an example) (Fig. 6) the static figure of the emperor, frontally enthroned, fills the whole width of the panel at its very centre, while the people below appear as a uniform mass,

[14] Benario (1958), but cf. Thomas and Witschel (1992) n. 6; DeLaine (1997).
[15] DeLaine (1997) and app. 4. for free-standing sculptures; see also Kleiner (1992) 338–9.
[16] For soldier–emperors: Wood (1986) 66–87.
[17] Mathew (1943). [18] Kleiner (1992) 388–9.

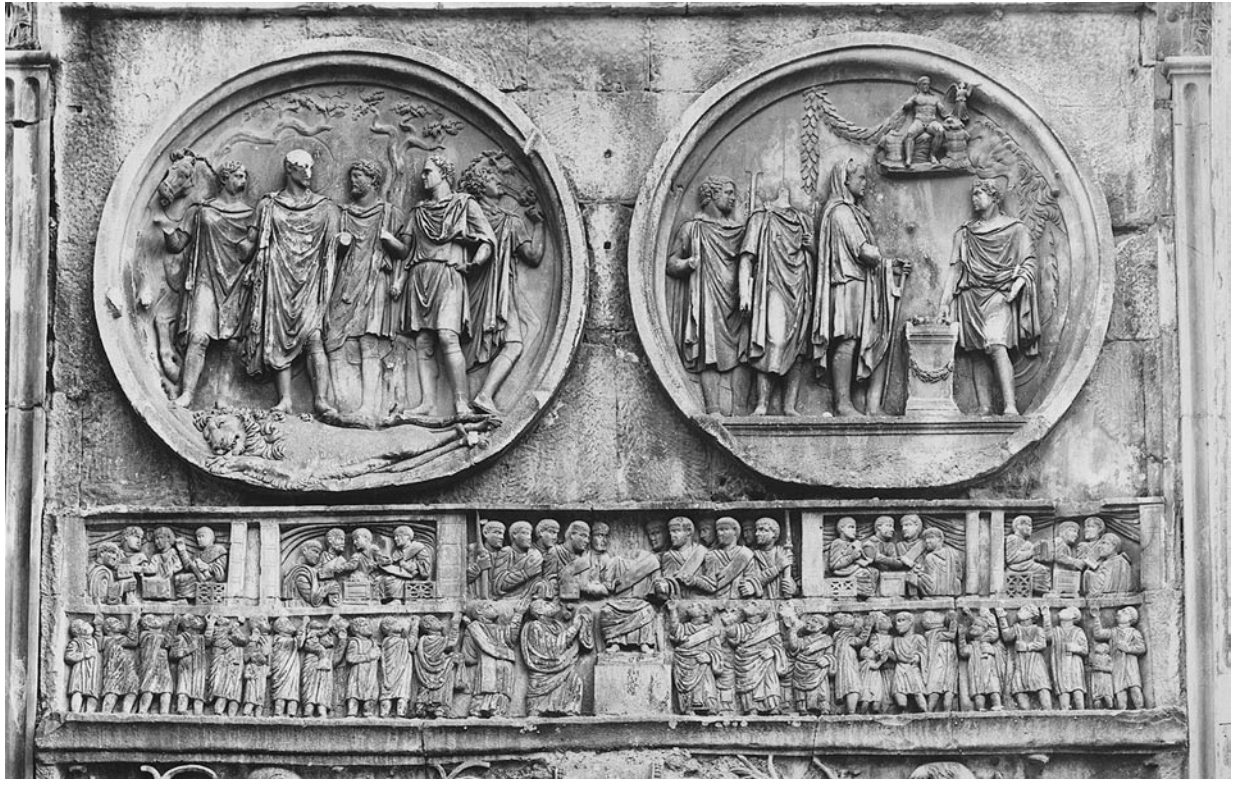

Fig. 6 Frieze from arch of Constantine showing Constantine giving money and Hadrianic roundels above

lifting up their hands towards him. This composition lays bare the inner significance of the event, emphasizing its important aspects and arranging figures according to the social hierarchy. Compared with the easy grace of the reused Hadrianic roundels placed above it there is an almost relentless sense of symmetry and patterning, emphasized by the stumpy figure-style and low relief-work. In the east these features were not so pronounced, because of the strong hellenistic traditions of illusionism. Thus the arch of Galerius erected at Salonica around 300 has a more rounded figure-style and uses ornamental borders and arcades to break up the registers of scenes; while an over-life-size portrait of Diocletian from Nicomedia has features (even beard and hair) fully modelled rather than delineated.[19] In architecture this period saw a resurgence of activity after the accession of Diocletian in 284, with large-scale buildings such as the great imperial baths built in Rome by Diocletian (*c.* 298–305/6) and Constantine (*c.* 320) and at Trier (in the early fourth century), and imperial residences, like that of Diocletian at Split (300–6), of Maxentius at Rome (307–12), and Galerius at Salonica (before 311). These are characterized by vast, strongly articulated spaces and symmetrical planning. Two constructions are particularly significant for the history of this period: the walls of Rome erected by Aurelian (emperor 270–5) which show the need to defend the capital itself, and the building of Constantinople as the seat of government from 330.[20]

To sum up: this period (193–337) can be described as transitional towards the Christian art of the mid-fourth century. In contrast to the homogeneous culture which that promoted, the art and architecture of this period are varied – so varied and so fast changing at times that it is hard at times to distinguish short-lived, directionless changes from those that are part of progressive developments. Events in the external world, social and political shifts and economic turmoil, could play strange games with style: there is interest in looking back as well as forward, and in asserting local styles over metropolitan, and also times when shortage of resources had a clear impact on stylistic developments.

Such issues can be examined in greater depth in the case studies which follow. They have been chosen to cover range of functions, public, private, domestic and religious, and from the viewpoints of style and theme. The first looks at a particular aspect of imperial art and architecture, namely how emperors used the past. It shows tension between the past conceived of as a source of good traditions, and the needs of innovation, which were particularly strong when new systems were introduced as under the tetrarchy

[19] Vermeule (1968) 336–50 (arch of Galerius), and fig. 169 (head of Diocletian: Istanbul Archaeological Museum inv. no. 4864).

[20] Ward-Perkins (1981) 415–66 for architecture in Rome and provinces.

or with the Christian empire. The second case centres on the decoration of Christian sarcophagi and the emergence of Christian religious motifs alongside traditional commemorative imagery. The final study looks at regionalism in developments in floor-mosaic, to illustrate influences across regions and various ways of exploring the relation between architectural space and its decoration.

1. Emperors, Rome and the past

Temporal themes had always played a central part in Roman imperial iconography as emperors since Augustus had worked to consolidate their present status by reference to the good times of the past and to even better times to come. But in this period they seem especially prominent. The political and economic uncertainties made it even more urgent to anchor the present to the stability of Rome's past, particularly for the many emperors of provincial origin, while the increasing presentation of the emperor as a symbolic, superhuman figure meant that themes of human time could be tied to the eternal and transcendent.[21] These themes were expressed through a sophisticated use of allusion and detail, combining costume, gesture, attributes and inscriptions to spell out the particular message of the image.

(a) Portraiture

The most immediate and personal way in which an emperor could associate himself with the past was through his portrait; by presenting himself in a form or style reminiscent of some earlier leader he could imply a dynastic connection or, more subtly, evoke for himself the predecessor's virtues. This was regularly done throughout this period, and in particular the dynastic implications of physical similarity were much exploited. For instance, Septimius Severus who claimed to have been adopted by Marcus Aurelius, incorporated the unmistakable physical characteristics of his predecessor in one of his various portrait types, and this was repeated by some of his own successors.[22] Similarly, in the early fourth century Constantine was to re-establish a dynastic note in portraiture by stressing likeness within generations of his own family and showing himself as 'neo-Augustus with a neo-Trajanic hairstyle'.[23] On the other hand the tetrarchs used physical similarity for the opposite effect, to represent the contemporary relationship between themselves rather than dynastic or ideological connections

[21] See Brilliant (1963) 163–211.

[22] For Septimius' 'Marcus Aurelius' type: McCann (1968) 103–6; imitated by later Severans; e.g. also in portraits of Caracalla (Kleiner (1992) 322), Macrinus (Wood (1986) 31).

[23] E.g. on coinage of A.D. 313: Kleiner (1992) 434.

with the past; by denying physical differences in their appearance they portrayed themselves as a united group in which individualism had no place (see Fig. 2).[24]

Emperors could claim for themselves the virtues of past leaders, by putting up statues to them (as Severus Alexander is alleged to have done[25]) or through details of their own image. Beards, hairstyles and other attributes all became important iconographical links between past and present, as emperors incorporated into their portraits hall-mark features of noble predecessors. 'Good emperors' such as Marcus Aurelius[26] and Augustus[27] were obvious choices for imitation, as was Alexander the Great who evoked a Greek heroic past.[28] But not all the models were 'good' or indeed far back in the past: one of the major influences on imperial portraiture in the first half of the third century was the image of Caracalla. His death by assassination could not have made him an ideal role model for an emperor, yet his distinctive portrait, with its forceful head and thick-set, scowling features, found many imitators (Fig. 7). Presumably immediate successors like Macrinus, Elagabalus, and Severus Alexander drew on it for dynastic reasons, while emperors such as Maximinus Thrax and Philip the Arab took it as an image of power and military strength.[29]

Style was another means of evoking qualities linked with specific periods of the past, although precisely to what ends often remains unclear. A case in point is the sparse and linear style adopted by 'soldier emperors' such as Maximinus Thrax and Philip the Arab which has been likened to the realism of late republican or Flavian portraiture.[30] There are some strong stylistic resonances here with these earlier styles, but it is sometimes unclear whether such visual references were conscious or not, as 'revivals' of form and style were so much part of the art of this time. A telling case is the portraiture of Gallienus, which alluded so widely to men and styles of the past (notably Alexander, Augustus, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius and the culture of classical Greece) that the idea of physical resemblance to the emperor himself seems at times to have been lost.[31] Yet this range of allusions shows how reference to the past had a dynamic role in the construction of the imperial portraiture of this period even if its meaning was sometimes diffuse or unclear.

[24] Rees (1993).

[25] *SHA*, *Alex. Sev.* 28.6 alleges that Alexander, whose background was Syrian, filled the forum of Nerva at Rome with colossal statues of past deified emperors to prove himself 'Roman'.

[26] See n. 22 above; also imitated by Gallienus: Wood (1986) 101.

[27] As imitated by Gallienus: Wood (1986) 46; by Constantine, Kleiner (1992) 438.

[28] Caracalla: Wood (1986) 29; Severus Alexander: *SHA*, *Alex. Sev.* 25.8–10; Gallienus: Wood (1986) 91, 101 (and Fig. 1 here).

[29] Portraits of Caracalla and their imitation by successors: Wood (1986) 27–48; Kleiner (1992) 361–72, 396 (for further bibliography).

[30] Wood (1986) 13–17 for stylistic revivals.

[31] Breckenridge (1981) 506–8; Wood (1986) 101.

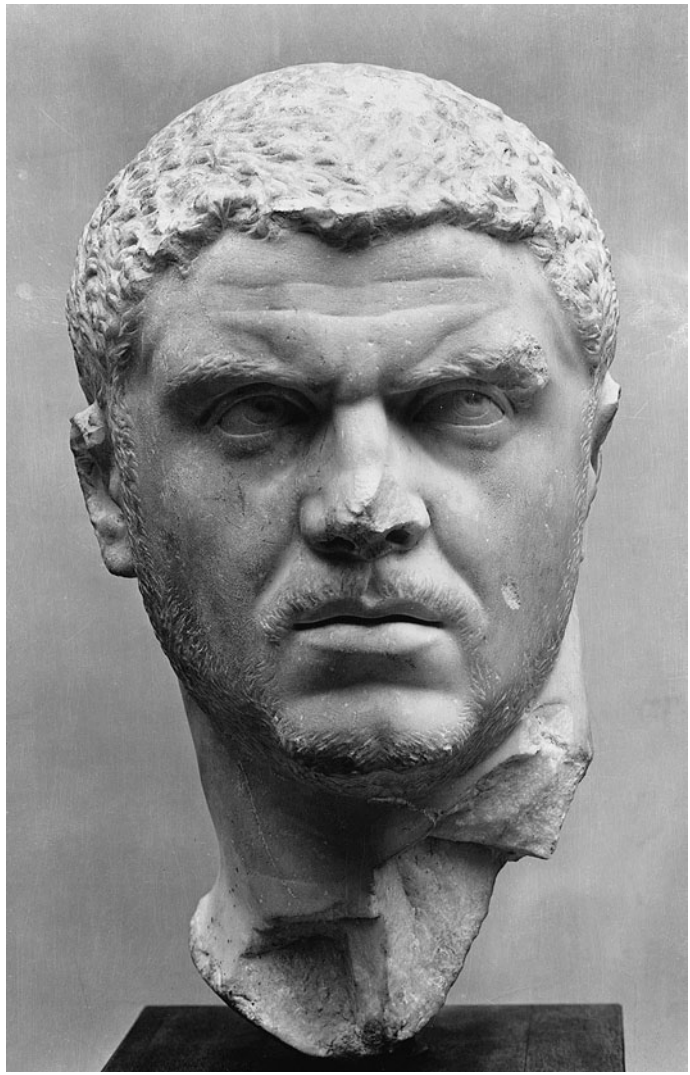

Fig. 7 Portrait of Caracalla

Rewriting imperial history could also involve the destruction of images. Emperors and other powerful people who had suffered *damnatio memoriae* might have their portraits destroyed in order to remove them from the historical record. Two reliefs on the arch of the Argentarii in Rome show just how thorough this process could be even when group portraits

were involved.[32] These had shown Septimius Severus with members of his family sacrificing, in two scenes each with three people, but following the *damnatio* of Plautianus (the powerful praetorian prefect and father-in-law of Caracalla), then of his daughter Plautilla, and finally of Septimius' younger son Geta, their figures were erased one by one, to leave only the emperor and his wife in one panel (Fig. 4), and the solitary figure of Caracalla in the other.

(b) Coins and medallions

Coins and medallions provided particular scope for allusions to the past, not simply through the imperial portraits they carried, but also in the choice of reverse types and their accompanying inscriptions. Although the quality (especially of coins) deteriorated markedly in the second half of the third century, the medallions took over some of the commemorative function of imperial monumental sculpture, which by the mid-third century had largely disappeared.

As in imperial portraits, central themes are to do with consolidation of power through dynastic rule and military victory, with the emperor emerging as a figure who transcends human time.[33] Yet the past has a place in this view, as if to suggest that history was summed up in present experience. Thus past events, such as the anniversaries of emperors, were a regular occasion for commemoration. In A.D. 248 the millennium of the city of Rome was marked with a celebration of the secular games, including lavish displays of wild animals in the Colosseum, and these events were marked by a special issue of coinage by Philip I. The inscription *Saeculum Novum* which occurs on some of the coins shows that the event was not entirely retrospective, but looked to a new future beginning in the present.[34] Such ideological links can also be seen in references back to the reigns of earlier emperors; coins and medallions issued by Gallienus recall Augustan ideals and institutions. A new age is being evoked by reference to an old.

Yet as in imperial portrait sculpture of the later third and early fourth centuries this move seems slow and discontinuous. While break-away regimes established in Gaul by Postumus in 260 and by Carausius in Britain in 287 also allude to a Roman past on some of their coinage,[35] some early issues of

[32] For *damnatio memoriae*: Pekáry (1985) 134–42, especially 138 (for Severan cases); for the arch of the Argentarii: Hannestad (1986) 277–80.

[33] E.g. Brilliant (1963) 177–8 for transcendent victory images. For dynastic e.g. Hannestad (1986) fig. 156; also Toynbee (1944) 154–5 for military dress, and 195 for victory themes on medallions.

[34] Hannestad (1986) 286; Toynbee (1944) 103.

[35] E.g. Postumus, double *sestertius*, Trier A.D. 260, using Hadrianic type to show emperor as restorer of the provinces: Carson (1980) no. 905; Carausius, *denarius*, London A.D. 287 showing the Roman wolf and the twins, inscribed RENOVAT ROMA: Carson (1980) no. 1127.

the tetrarchs appear to break from such retrospection: a gold medallion produced in Trier, probably in A.D. 293, does away with the concept of obverse and reverse and treats each side equally with a pair of virtually identical portraits.[36] In so doing it squeezes out any chance for references to the past and sets the symbolism firmly in the present. But a graphic illustration of how old and new worlds were to be combined in the imagery of the victorious Constantine is provided by a silver medallion issued sometime around A.D. 313–15 (to commemorate his victory at the Milvian Bridge, or his *decennalia* later).[37] The reverse shows an *adlocutio* scene with the inscription *Salus Rei Publicae*, which are both from traditional imperial triumphal imagery. Yet details of the portrait on the obverse set past, present and future together in a specific contrast: while the emperor's shield bears the image of Romulus and Remus as twins, his helmet is decorated with a roundel containing the Greek letters chi-rho, the monogram of Christ. This way of interpreting the present by reference to a past event as a prefiguration (here the implication is Constantine will refound the original city of Rome under Christ), is akin to the kind of exegetical reading of the past by types, that becomes so typical of Christianity.[38]

(c) Buildings

Emperors also associated themselves with the greatness of the past through public building, restoring places of historic significance or erecting new buildings to traditional design. As a background to interpreting this activity in Rome it is important to remember that between the Severans and Diocletian, there was little new public building in Rome itself. Although political and economic instability was a major factor in this dearth, it was also the case that many emperors in this period spent more time and energy elsewhere: Septimius Severus for instance, undertook major work at Lepcis Magna as well as new building in Rome, while during the tetrarchy when large-scale building in Rome resumed, there was also investment in other cities like Trier, Salonica, Sirmium and Nicomedia to serve as capitals. Finally, A.D. 330 saw the founding of Constantinople, the new Rome.[39]

In choosing to repair significant buildings which had suffered damage or decay, emperors could make ideological points and boost their reputation: in fact, the claim to have restored buildings seems to have been an important part of imperial rhetoric, as often the actual building work involved was

[36] From the Arras hoard. New York, The American Numismatic Society 44.100: Weitzmann (1979) no. 31.

[37] Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 86 627: Weitzmann (1979) no. 57.

[38] See Elsner (2000) 751–5 (*CAH* XIII).

[39] For Severan work in Rome, see n. 14 above; Lepcis: Ward-Perkins (1993); capitals: Ward-Perkins (1981) chs. 14–15; Constantinople: Krautheimer (1965) 46–9.

relatively slight.[40] Restoring an amenity to public use brought popular favour, as is suggested by various coin issues which commemorate the restoration of the Colosseum after fire and lightning damage on various occasions in the third century (for example, the special issue of coinage by Severus Alexander in A.D. 223).[41] Other cases suggest motives that were more political: the rededication of an Augustan arch for Gallienus and his wife implies a rededication to the ideals of the early empire.[42]

In new building, emperors could identify themselves with the glories of the past by imitating successful monuments of predecessors, evoking their munificence; thus the imperial baths built in Rome by Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Diocletian and Constantine followed the model set up by Titus and Trajan in the first and second centuries. Even in the provinces this kind of retrospective allusion might be made: at Philippopolis, the town he founded at his birth-place in Provincia Arabia, Philip the Arabian combined local styles of building design and decoration with others derived from earlier buildings in metropolitan Rome.[43]

But perhaps the most interesting new monuments were those designed to commemorate past people or events of one kind or another: two groups merit particular attention here. Commemorative arches erected in Rome by Septimius Severus (in A.D. 203) (Fig. 3) and by Constantine (A.D. 315) both make meaningful allusion to the past, and in particular to 'good emperors', through their design. Prominent on the Severan arch are four square panels depicting the emperor's Parthian victory. This arrangement is unique on Roman arches, and may be an attempt to replicate the type of continuous narrative scenes used on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, making those emperors role models for Septimius himself.[44] On the arch of Constantine links with the past were confirmed through the thoughtful incorporation of material from earlier monuments (*spolia*) (Fig. b). This has been much discussed, particularly in the context of the 'decline' interpretation of late antique art.[45] But it is surely the case that these *spolia* were sculptural quotations of Rome's past imperial glory with which Constantine wished to associate himself. This becomes clear from the fact that they were taken from monuments of 'good emperors', Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius (of whom the last two are represented again as statues flanking Constantine in the scene of his speech from the Rostra after his triumphal entry into Rome). His claim on history was further

[40] Thomas and Witschel (1992). Another aspect is the topos of imperial modesty: according to the literary account, the emperor declined to take the credit due to him. Examples are Septimius Severus and his restoration of 'all the public shrines' (*SHA*, *Sev.* 23.1) and Severus Alexander, said to have preserved the name of Trajan on those bridges he restored (*SHA*, *Alex. Sev* 26.11).

[41] Carson (1980) no. 745. [42] Kleiner (1992) 375. [43] Freyberger (1992).

[44] See Kleiner (1992) 351. See also Brilliant (1967).

[45] See Kleiner (1992) 444–55 and 484 for full bibliography. The locus classicus for the 'decline' interpretation is Berenson (1954). Cf. Pierce (1989).

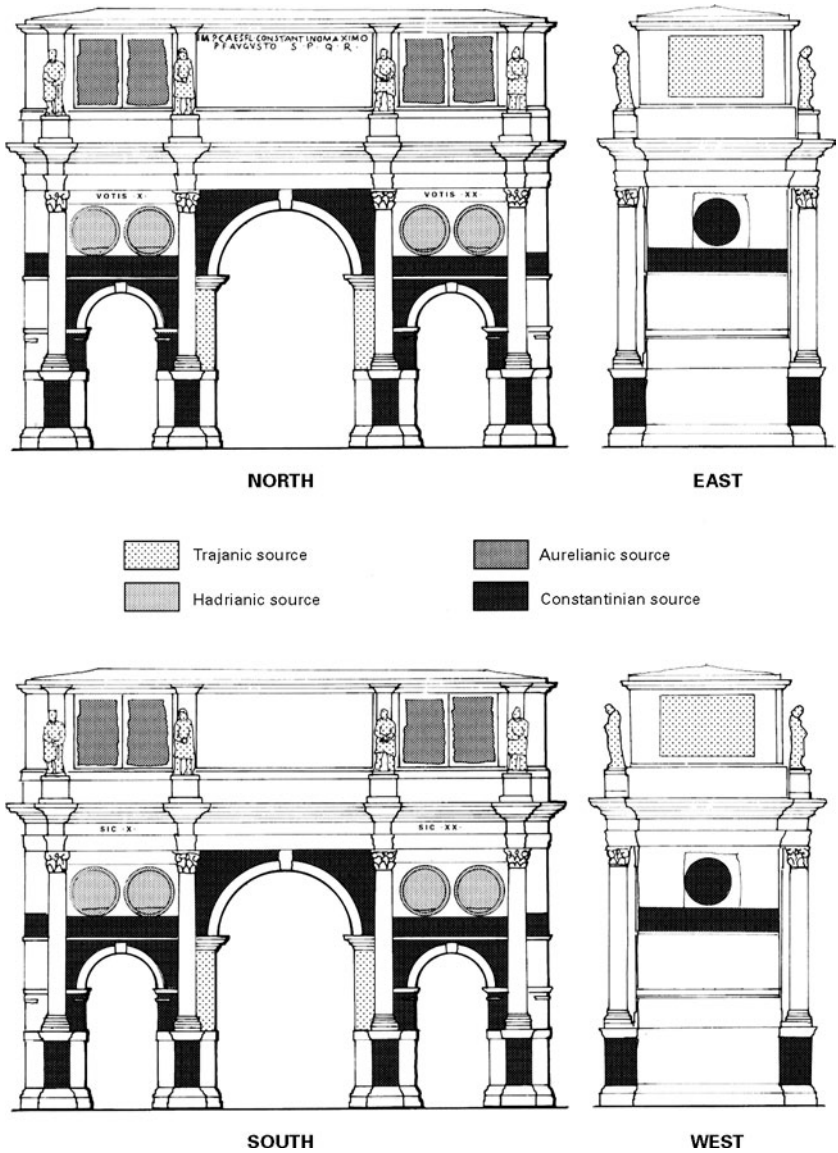

Fig. b Schematic plan of four faces of the arch of Constantine with the arrangement of the reliefs and their sources

asserted by replacing the heads of earlier emperors with those of himself or Licinius. With this reading the whole arch can be seen as a concerted design to link Constantine with the virtues of Rome's past.

In the second group of buildings Constantine yoked the Christian past to his present. He erected major churches in Rome and the Holy Land which served various immediate functions – commemorative, funerary and pilgrimage – and the greater purpose of building the Christian empire. In Rome the churches were often sited near the burial places of martyrs, or their shrines (such as S. Lorenzo and S. Agnese fuori le Mura, and the basilica of St Peter); others were built to accommodate the veneration of relics brought back from the Holy Land. In the Holy Land itself Constantine built on sites to commemorate the life of Christ and the saints and 'invented the notion of Christian archaeology', excavating Golgotha and the tomb of Christ to retrieve their Christian history.[46] But his most personal link with the Christian past was through his burial in the church he had built at Constantinople dedicated to the Twelve Apostles; although in many respects this building echoed the mausolea of other rulers such as Diocletian and Galerius, the implication was that Constantine himself was to be considered as the thirteenth apostle.[47] Constantinople itself combined the concept of a new Christian capital with the grandeurs of the Roman imperial past. Many traditional forms of art and architecture were used in its building, and earlier sculpture redeployed.[48]

His dual vision illustrates just how potent an ingredient reference to the past was in imperial imagery at this time. It could be used in different ways and through different media, and with different degrees of specificity but its essential purpose was to lay claim to the past in order to confirm the present and shape the future.

2. Christian sarcophagi before Constantine

Christian sarcophagi in the period before Constantine provide a useful focus for looking at general developments in the form and design of sarcophagi (which, with the dearth of major public commissions, are an important source of evidence for private art of the time), and they also document the emergence of a distinctively Christian iconography, representing as they do one branch of the funerary context from which it began. After

[46] Cameron in Bowersock, Brown and Grabar (1999) 10.

[47] For Constantine's churches: Krautheimer (1965) 27–41; and G. Armstrong (1967) for a list of churches attributed to Constantine as patron or founder. Cf. Kühnel (1987) for the creation of a New Jerusalem by building on the Christian holy sites of the old, and Wilken (1992). For Constantine's burial as thirteenth apostle, Mango (1990).

[48] For use of earlier statuary see Bassett (1991) and (1996): links were made to Greek culture and the historical traditions of Rome. For a critical reading of ancient literary sources on pagan and Christian elements in Constantine's Constantinople: Cameron and Hall (1999).

the Peace of the Church Christian sarcophagi underwent a major change, not so much in their iconography at first, as in size and quality; for the new stability encouraged wealthier Christians to patronize the arts for their private purposes, and this saw the production of some ambitious pieces in the second and third decades of the fourth century.

(a) General trends

Taking the period as a whole, sarcophagi cover a wide range in type and size. Certainly in the more expansive years of the early third and early fourth centuries there are monuments so impressive in terms of their quality and size that they may have been especially commissioned for a specific individual before his or her death (such as the 'Badminton' or 'Ludovisi' sarcophagi mentioned above; see also Fig. 5); but typical of the later third century are much simpler coffins which must have been produced in large numbers.[49] Many were imported into Rome (from where most examples in this section are taken) in an unfinished, pre-fabricated state from various places of marble production, for the finer details to be completed in local workshops or on purchase from the mason's stock.

By the second half of the third century decoration tended to follow certain formulaic designs or themes for representation, which, as I shall show, is a factor in the development of Christian iconography on sarcophagi. Two of the most common forms are strigillated sarcophagi (on which panels of 'S' shaped fluting are juxtaposed with one or more figured scenes), and sarcophagi where a central roundel containing a bust of the deceased is held aloft by two cupids (or Victories) with other figures or small scenes filling the remaining spaces. Since designs of this type needed single figures or small groups, attention switched from longer narrative sequences (as myths, for instance, demanded) towards abbreviated versions which showed only significant highlights. As for themes, personifications of the Seasons became very common as the third century progressed, presumably because they could convey central, but non-specific, ideas about natural cycles of regeneration in a multiplicity of visually attractive ways.[50] The theme of learning and devotion to the Muses retained the popularity it had enjoyed in the second century; and in contrast to the rather rarefied life which that evoked were various scenes of 'everyday life' which were developed during the later third century.[51] One of these was the meal which was to appear, like the theme of learning, in Christian contexts, but before then was often shown in conjunction with scenes of the hunt. The hunt was a subject which enjoyed great popularity in all branches of art at this time,

[49] E.g. Kranz (1984) no. 114; Amedick (1991) nos. 110, 145; *RS* 1.223 and 564.

[50] Kranz (1984).

[51] For learning and Muses: Wegner (1966) and Zanker (1995); for daily life: Amedick (1991).

epitomizing ideals of conspicuous bravery (often recalling mythological heroes) and the lifestyle of wealthy landowners, and in commemorating the dead it added notions about combating death and danger. Surprisingly perhaps, it did not appear on Roman sarcophagi until around A.D. 220, and then in various different images which ranged from the truly heroic (the lion hunt) to the supposedly realistic (boar and hare hunting, and trapping with nets). Representations of the lion hunt in particular tend towards an emblematic arrangement of figures with the victorious hunter shown at the centre of the scene in the moment of conquest which highlights the ideological content of the scene at the expense of its narrative. In contrast, the trapping of animals with nets, depicted from the end of the century, shows strong influences from 'realistic' contemporary art.[52]

From the mid-third century onwards, Christian elements begin to appear in the decoration of sarcophagi at Rome. At first they do so discreetly and sparingly, but within the next fifty years blossom to the point where they can assertively fill large, double-register sarcophagi. Later, this change may be partly explained by the Peace of the Church, but the other factor is the massive development of Christian imagery.

(b) The appearance of Christian iconography

On the earliest examples (which date from around A.D. 270) the Christian elements are usually restricted to figures of the Good Shepherd, carrying a sheep across his shoulders, and a woman standing with her arms raised in prayer (the *orans*). Both of these were based on existing figure-types which symbolized general virtues of philanthropy or (for the woman) *pietas*, but it is clear from their constant repetition in Christian contexts that for Christians they held more specific religious significance. Nevertheless their background in secular art meant that they would not have looked conspicuous, inserted as they often were into conventional schemes of sarcophagus decoration. They were often placed in the corner panels of strigillated sarcophagi, or set in pastoral landscapes, or in friezes of figures as on a sarcophagus from the *Via Salaria* where they are flanked by the figures of a philosopher and a listening woman.[53] This particular group, of philosopher and woman, is another significant addition to Christian iconography at this time, despite (or because of?) its popularity in contemporary non-Christian funerary art as an image of learning and the cultural life. It soon appears alongside Christian figures in a frieze, as here (or on the S. Maria Antiqua sarcophagus which includes biblical scenes), or in a separate panel on strigillated sarcophagi.[54] In this context the man has become a Christian teacher and the woman his attentive pupil, but it is clear that

[52] For hunt: Andreae (1980). [53] Landscapes: e.g. *RS* 1.2, 950, 961, 988; *Via Salaria RS* 1.66.
[54] S. Maria Antiqua sarcophagus: *RS* 1. 747.1; strigillated sarcophagus: *RS* 1.994.

the value of learning has been carried across into Christian funerary themes from its pre-Christian origins. This is confirmed by the continuation of other figures associated with the theme: the standing woman holding a scroll, or flanked by Muses, and the men and women seated with their Muse or philosopher companions all appear on sarcophagi of the late third century in the company of Christian figures.[55]

But the major development was the introduction of biblical scenes into the repertory of sarcophagus decoration, many of which were to do with miraculous deliverance. Most came from the Old Testament, such as Noah's salvation from the flood, the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, Daniel in the lions' den, and the sacrifice of Isaac, while the raising of Lazarus from the dead is a New Testament story with an obviously similar significance. At one time scholars thought that these subjects (which also appear frequently in the catacombs) were inspired by particular prayers for deliverance from evil and from death; but it seems now that their appearance in art antedates the liturgical formulation of the prayers, making a formal connection less likely. As strong as the theme of divine deliverance is the hope for peace and refreshment (*refrigerium*) in the next world, which also occurs in contemporary Christian inscriptions and literature. Many scenes on pre-Constantinian Christian sarcophagi can be interpreted in this way, particularly the miracles which create refreshment (e.g. the striking of water from the rock, the conversion of water into wine at the marriage at Cana, and the multiplication of loaves and fishes), and the images of the pastoral paradise or of Jonah's rest under the gourd-tree.

One paradoxical aspect of early Christian art at this time is that although in many ways its meanings are set or shaped (for instance, through scriptural exegesis, or through typology whereby the deliverance of Jonah – for example – came to stand for Christ's resurrection), they are also open to receiving fresh readings through their placement in the overall design: juxtaposition could create connections between ideas and apparently disparate motifs.[56] Many of these biblical scenes were represented in a highly abbreviated way with one or two figures involved in a significant and recognizable action, and on frieze sarcophagi of the late third and early fourth century they would be placed in a long row of unseparated scenes, which ideological connections might shape into a particular pattern.

A frieze sarcophagus (*RS* 1.6; Museo Pio Cristiano 161) dated to the first quarter of the fourth century sums up many of these features. The lid is decorated with conventional motifs typical of the time, with boar-hunters on one side of the inscription and a portrait of the deceased on the

[55] Woman with scroll: *RS* 1.74, 396, 1004.1; flanked by Muses: *RS* 1.696; or with Muse or philosophers: *RS* 1.817 and 945.1.

[56] Cf. Elsner (2000) 751–5 (*CAH* XIII); Grabar (1969).

other. But on the coffin itself, front and sides, the scenes are unremittingly Christian and biblical. At first glance their arrangement looks random, but in fact there is a clear distinction between Old Testament scenes on the sides (Adam and Eve, representing the Fall, and the three young Hebrews awaiting deliverance from the fiery furnace) and New Testament on the front (miracles and scenes of the arrest of Peter: Fig. 8). There at the centre of a series of New Testament miracle scenes is the figure of a woman praying. Her head has been left prepared for the addition of portrait features, as if to claim the Christian salvation expressed in the biblical stories for a specific individual. Its religious iconography, extensive in its range of scenes but rather limited in theme, and its ordered arrangement of scenes looks ahead to the measured style of Constantinian frieze sarcophagi which continues into the mid-fourth century.[57]

3. Mosaics

One major aspect of the art of this period is its increasing regionalism, with cross-influences between provinces which may by-pass Rome. This development is not surprising given the variation in the economic and political fortunes of different parts of the empire: while some places suffered the destructive effects of barbarian incursions, others enjoyed a time of stable prosperity, and the status of Rome as a major artistic centre fluctuated over the period. Styles in the third century could still remain quite local, even though certain types of subject-matter (notably mythological) were reproduced with remarkably little variation across the empire. In contrast with the empire of the first century A.D. when it is possible to talk of various local élites emulating the tastes and practices of central Rome, the wealthy of this period saw themselves as sharing in the same general culture which linked them across the provinces.

Figured scenes in floor-mosaics are a good illustration of this, and the examples to be discussed now come from three regions of the empire where mosaic particularly flourished at this time, but in different styles: in central Italy black and white mosaics predominated, while in eastern Asia Minor and North Africa figured scenes were polychrome. Although these areas may be described in terms of the 'centre' and the 'periphery' of the Roman empire, it becomes clear that the dynamic does not necessarily radiate outwards from the centre but involves influences which cross backwards and forwards across these regions.[58] Important diagnostic features are the choice of subject-matter, the relation of the mosaic's design to the architectural

[57] Constantinian examples: *RS* 1, nos. 39 and 40.

[58] Traced in detailed studies by Levi (1947) and Lavin (1963), but primarily in the context of developments after this period, and the possibility of influences from outside the empire, i.e. the east.

Fig. 8 Early Christian frieze sarcophagus

space of the room, and the treatment of the floor as a surface (that is, how scenes with an illusion of depth and volume are integrated with the essential flatness of the floor). How to relate three dimensional figured scenes to the two dimensional surface of the actual floor was a dilemma which found various forms of resolution in the history of floor mosaic. Different regions had tackled it in different ways, for instance by confining the figured element to small scenes set against a wide, plain surface, by an overall 'carpet' of pattern, or by silhouetting black figures on a white ground; but in this period some of these long-established approaches begin to change.

(a) Ostia and central Italy

One crucial factor in the development of black and white mosaics, such as those of third century Ostia, was the relationship of the mosaic to its architectural context.[59] With the use of black on white the mosaic emphasised the flat, two dimensional nature of the floor, which was further enhanced by the free positioning of the figures without any containing frames. Thus in most cases the designs spread virtually from wall to wall in an all-over arrangement which echoed the architectural effects of vaulted ceilings. The black and white style was largely limited to this part of Italy where it had been prevalent since the first century A.D. It was not a 'cheap alternative' to illusionistic polychrome and was used even in imperial buildings at Rome such as the baths of Caracalla.[60]

For the late second and earlier third centuries A.D. Ostia provides many examples from new public buildings and houses refurbished in this time of prosperity, which show some lines of development.[61] While many motifs continue in use from the later second century (such as marine scenes and foliage scrolls) there is a new emphasis on human figures, which are rendered in a more abstract way. Internal white lines now tend to mark out a set of patterns on the black silhouettes to suggest the forms of the body, rather than modelling them as coherent, organic forms as before.[62] A similar move towards abstraction and disjuncture can be seen in the way figures are positioned on the floor; compared with many earlier compositions there is often less interest in an overall design and more in relating individual

[59] Clarke (1979) *passim*.

[60] DeLaine (1997) 24–31 (geometric and figured scene with aquatic motifs).

[61] Discussed principally by Blake (1940) 93–8 (who looks also at contemporary examples from outside Ostia, but in terms of decline); by Becatti (1961) and (1963); and by Clarke (1979) (in an analysis of style and architectural links). See also Dunbabin (1999) 60–5.

[62] E.g. baths of Seven Sages *c.* 207: Becatti (1961) no. 271, pl. CLV; and the *caupona* of Alexander Helix: Becatti (1961) no. 391 and Clarke (1979) 45, fig. 58 (here Fig. 9).

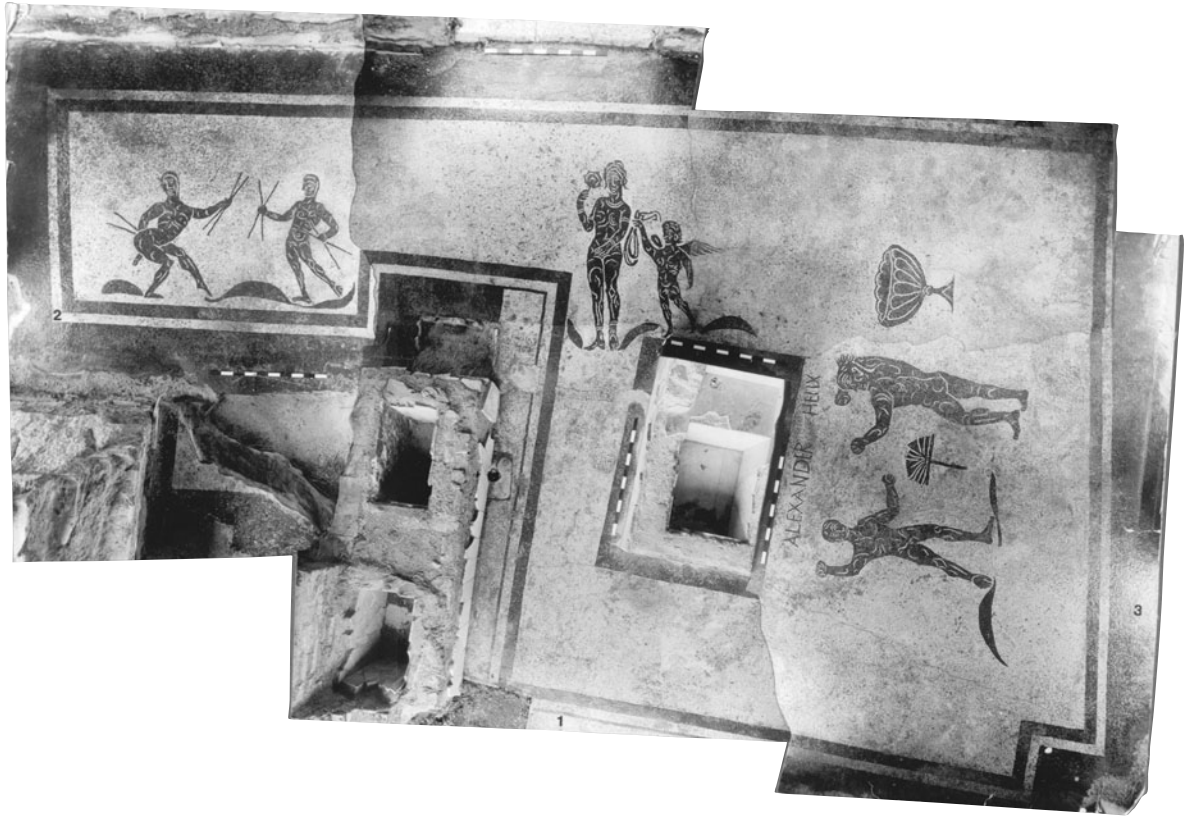

Fig. 9 Ostia, black and white mosaic

elements to the shape of the room and to its various possible viewpoints.[63] These trends are illustrated by the figures in the pavement of the *caupona* of Alexander Helix (Fig. 9).

By the start of the fourth century colour appears in a few Ostian mosaics but is often limited to discrete panels as in the House of the Augustales; these herald its full-scale use in some pavements later in the century.[64] Yet some ambitious figured mosaics in polychrome of the third century survive from Rome and its environs, notably the athletes and trainers from the baths of Caracalla and the gladiators on the pavement found near Tusculum.[65] Their figures are highly modelled, yet in physical terms (as opposed to psychological impact) they are rather unconvincing and suggest that Roman workshops were inexperienced with the fully modelled forms that elaborate polychrome demanded.

(b) Eastern Asia Minor

This could not be said of the situation in contemporary eastern Asia Minor (which includes the southeastern coast of modern Turkey, Syria and Cyprus), where there was a flowering of mosaics from the early third century on.[66] Here the hellenistic polychrome tradition flourished, with its highly illusionistic treatment of figures. To reconcile their three dimensional effects with the flat surface of the floor these figured scenes were usually small, and set against a background that was plain or of geometric patterns. By and large mosaics in this region consistently follow this tradition, whether they are found in long-established towns or newly Romanized areas, or in places like Palmyra where other art forms show strong local trends.[67] Although there were small-scale variations in local fashion or in the pace of changes, it is possible to see some developments across the region.[68]

One was a move towards more florid effects. Many mosaics of the Severan period show sharper contrasts in shade and colour to heighten dramatic effect, particularly in the modelling of bodies.[69] The framing of the figured panels became more elaborate: some Severan pavements at Antioch (e.g.

[63] E.g. emblematic elements in pavements of shops in the forum of Corporations, of end second to earlier third centuries: Becatti (1961) no. 391; *apodyterium* of the Terme del Faro, dated mid-third century: Becatti (1961) no. 320, pl. clxiv; Dunbabin (1999) fig. 63.

[64] Becatti (1961) no. 420, pl. xlii.

[65] Baths of Caracalla: Blake (1940) 111–12, pl. 28/9; DeLaine (1997) 28, fig. 17, 31 n. 5; 239–40 redating, and Dunbabin (1999) fig. 71, 68 n. 40. Tusculum gladiators: Blake (1940) 113–15, pl. 30.

[66] For a survey of the Near East generally Balty (1981) and Dunbabin (1999); Antioch: Levi (1947); Syria: Balty (1977); Cyprus: Michaelides (1987).

[67] Balty (1981). But Edessa mosaics are an exception: Balty (1981) 387–90. See also Balty (1981) 369–70, for mosaic in newly annexed territory, Mas'udiye, and 426 for Palmyra. Cf. Lavin (1963) 152 for how this fits in with wider questions of classical versus oriental influences in stylistic developments in this period.

[68] Balty (1977) 6.

[69] E.g. in illusionism of 'Buffet Table' at Antioch: Levi (1947) 127–36, pl. xxiv.

in the House of the Drinking Contest at Seleucia) used an architectural setting which emphasized the single viewpoint for the scene and its illusion of spatialrecession.[70] Ornamentation became richer, like the swags of fruit which surround the scene of Artemis bathing in the mosaic from Philippopolis of the mid-third century.[71] There was also a tendency for the figured panels to increase in size and to cover proportionately larger areas of the floor, altering the relationship between mosaic and architectural space: some of these scenes had many figures, but others were quite simple and limited in number.[72] One way of producing an all-over design, using smaller panels each with their own viewpoint, appears in the mosaic from the 'Constantinian villa' at Antioch where the floor was divided up to produce four trapezoidal panels containing hunting scenes.[73]

Subject-matter was primarily mythological, but from the late third century personifications of abstract qualities became increasingly popular.[74] Many such figures were identified by inscriptions, which came to proliferate; a particularly instructive example is the inscription on the mosaic from Mas'udiye which identifies the mosaicist in Greek and Syriac and the subject-matter (the river Euphrates), and also gives the date (A.D. 227/8).[75]

(c) North Africa

But the region in which floor mosaic was arguably most inventive at this time was North Africa, particularly in Africa Proconsularis where there were lively new developments which owed little to the hellenistic traditions of the east.[76] The original impetus seems to have come from Italy and many of the spatial arrangements found in the black and white style can be seen in polychrome versions in North Africa. In particular there are figured scenes which cover the whole floor-surface, freely arranged or set in compartments, as well as all-over patterns created by animals, plants or even peacock feathers.[77] Other motifs like vine scrolls or sea-scapes could be peopled with animals and human figures in varying degrees of realistic activity and with little or no interest in spatial recession. Figures were usually well modelled, but set against a plain background which allowed little or no suggestion of spatial illusion; depth was often indicated by height, an

[70] Levi (1947) 156–9, pl. XXX. [71] Balty (1977) nos. 5–6.

[72] Many figures: mosaic of Ge, Aion and Prometheus from Philippopolis: Balty (1977) no. 9. More limited composition: Meleager and Atalanta from Byblos: Balty (1981) 411–12, pl. XVI.2.

[73] Levi (1947) 226, pl. III.

[74] E.g. allegorical figures of Eutekneia, Philosophia and Dikaiosyne on an early fourth-century pavement from Philippopolis: Balty (1977) no. 16.

[75] E.g. mosaics from the *triclinium* of the House of Aion, Paphos, Cyprus, dated to after 318–24: Michaelides (1987) 28–31. For Mas'udiye: Balty (1981) 369, pl. XII.1.

[76] For comprehensive discussions see Dunbabin (1978) and (1999).

[77] E.g. animals: Dunbabin (1978) 67, pl. 58 (Radès, 'animal catalogue' mosaic); plants: Lavin (1963) 213, pl. 31 (Carthage, Maison de la Volière); and peacock feathers: Dunbabin (1978) 271, pl. 169 (Sousse).

arrangement which works well in fitting the scenes to the space available on the floor.

For mythological scenes, which often used quite traditional compositions, these spatial possibilities offered a range of settings: the triumph of Venus was set in a small panel within a larger overall design at Timgad, but at Bulla Regia it appears free-floating, as it were, above a fish-filled sea.[78] Some narrative could be suggested by splitting successive episodes of a myth across superimposed registers (as in the Achilles mosaic at Tipasa).[79] Scenes which were created to depict the interests of rich patrons, like chariot races, hunts and amphitheatre shows, often have a similar approach to space. These added some vivid new topics to the repertory of subjects, tending to surpass myth in popularity. They adopted many of the compositional arrangements which had opened up the space of the room; figures were arranged in registers, or freely placed with multi-viewpoints, or in scenes with a birds'eye perspective which gave a total view (as in this scene of races in the circus from Carthage: Fig. 10).[80] Often these activities are represented in idealized terms, although a few are much more realistic in their treatment.[81]

These then are (briefly) the characteristics of these three main areas of mosaic design in the third century. What was the dynamic of influences between them? We have already noted that originally influences from Italian black and white design may have led to the North African treatment of the floor in an all-over, unified design, in contrast to the traditional hellenistic approach which had allowed for spatial illusionism but within self-contained panels. It is not surprising that it is North African influences which become strongest at this stage. Their combination of lively polychrome with limited illusionism seems to have had direct influence on some Italian mosaics of the early fourth century. Perhaps the clearest examples are in the great Sicilian house at Piazza Armerina, where subjects and designs have African equivalents, but there are other indications on the Italian mainland, such as the use of coloured figures against a plain white ground in the Esquiline hunt, and in the fish-filled sea of the pavement of the Theodoran basilica at Aquileia (A.D. 308–19).[82] During this period small signs of African influence can be found in mosaics of Asia Minor, for instance in the grouping of figures against a neutral ground in the Adana Orpheus mosaic, in the choice of subjects, and in the initiatives taken in

[78] E.g. Timgad: Dunbabin (1978) 155–6, pl. G. Bulla Regia: Dunbabin (1978) 250, fig. 148.

[79] Dunbabin (1978) 35, 41, pl. 12.

[80] Registers: e.g. Dunbabin (1978) 271, pls. 60–2, amphitheatre scenes from Sousse. Multi-viewpoints: Dunbabin (1978) 268, Magerius mosaic. Bird's eye perspective: e.g. circus mosaics: Dunbabin (1978) 89 (and Fig. 10 here).

[81] E.g. Carthage boar hunt: Dunbabin (1978) 252, no. 31, pl. 21 (early third century); and Cherchel agricultural activities: Dunbabin (1978) 254, pls. 102–4 (early third century).

[82] Piazza Armerina: Wilson (1983); Esquiline hunt: Blake (1940) 116–17; Lavin (1963) 258; Aquileia: Bianchi-Bandinelli (1971) 234, fig. 16.

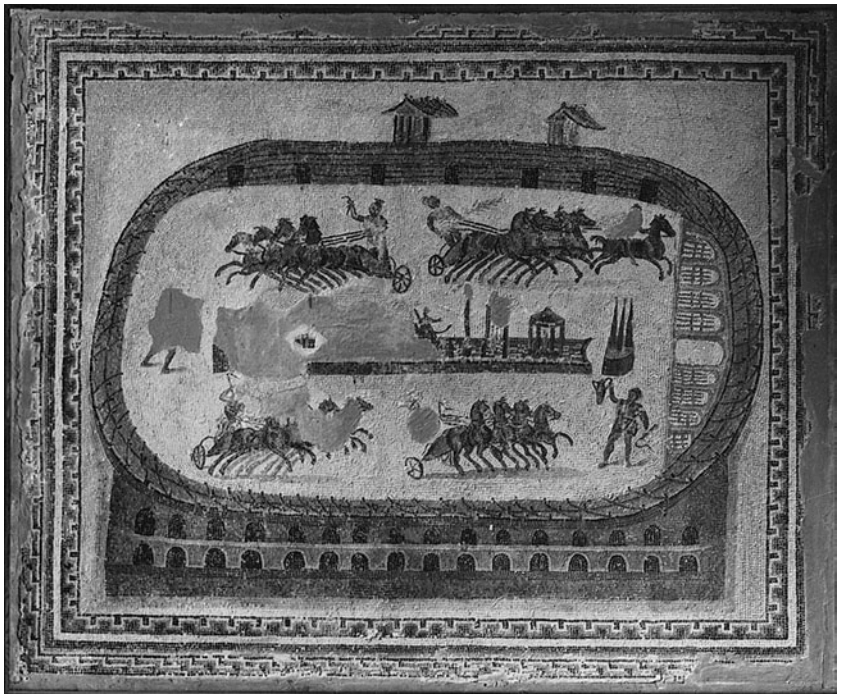

Fig. 10 North African circus mosaic from Carthage

the composition of the Constantinian villa hunt mosaic at Antioch.[83] But its major influences in that area lie outside this period, in its long-term impact on the illusionism of the hellenistic tradition which leads to the flat overall patterning and abandonment of frames that is so characteristic of mosaics, of Antioch for instance, in the fifth century.[84]

III. CONCLUSION

How far, then, do the developments traced in these studies represent transition in sense of progression? The use of the past as a theme in art and architecture was deeply embedded in Roman imagery, imperial and private, artistic and literary, and in this respect, this period is not exceptional, other than perhaps in the frequency of its use in the imperial context. By contrast, the development of Christian motifs on sarcophagi represents a new

[83] Adana Orpheus: Ling (1998) 59, fig. 41; re subjects: Balty (1981) 398–400 (was the scene of the toilet of Venus at Philippopolis laid by North African mosaicists?); Constantinian villa: see above n. 73.

[84] Lavin (1963) 273. Note that influences, especially from North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean are also to be found in other regions at this time, not discussed here: e.g. Spain: Ling (1998) 74–6.

start and a progression from which there is no turning back. This Christian funerary art uses contemporary designs and iconography as a framework for its own new imagery and interpretative approaches. The mosaics, however, are more divergent. On one hand they show the beginnings of a long-term move from hellenistic illusionism to flat, two dimensional compositions; yet in Italy the opposite starts to happen and black and white mosaic returns to colour. Both Christian art and these changes in mosaic anticipate major developments in the later fourth and fifth centuries that brought about a greater homogenization of artistic forms and styles; and in their range of responses all these case studies show the complex relationship between tradition and change that underlies this period of political as well as artistic transition.

CHRONOLOGY

Emperors	The West	The East	Culture, Religion, Society
192 Death of Commodus (31 December). Pertinax proclaimed emperor			
193 Murder of Pertinax (28 March). Julianus declared emperor, but put to death on 1 June. Accession of Septimius Severus	193 Severus declares D. Clodius Albinus, governor of Britain, Caesar	193 C. Pescennius Niger proclaimed emperor by the Syrian legions	
		194 Niger is defeated on the plain of Issus (April). Severus crosses the Euphrates (*c.* September)	
	195 Albinus declared emperor in Britain. He sets up his capital in Lyon		
	197 Severus defeats Albinus near Lyon (19 February). Death of Albinus. Severus returns to Rome (June)	197–202 Severus campaigns in the east	197 Tertullian's *Apologeticum*
198 Caracalla (Caesar 196) proclaimed Augustus		198 Capture of Ctesiphon 199–201 Severus in Egypt	before 198 Papinian's *Quaestiones*
	202 Severus returns to Rome from the east and celebrates his *decennalia* 203 Consulship of C. Fulvius Plautianus and P. Septimius Geta. The lawyer Papinian is praetorian prefect 203–4 Severus in Africa 204 Secular games at Rome 205 Consulship of Caracalla and Geta. Murder of Plautianus		202 Enforcement of regulations against Christians 203 Dedication of the arch of Septimius at Rome. Origen succeeds Clement as head of the Catechetical School. The *Passio* of Perpetua and Felicitas after 204 Papinian's *Responsa* 205 Birth of Plotinus

206 First consulship of Cassius Dio
206–7 Bulla Felix active in Italy
208 Severus leaves Rome for Britain

208 Ardashir becomes king of Persia
208–213 Parthian succession disputed between Vologaeses V and Artabanus V. Artabanus is eventually confirmed as king of Parthia

209 Geta (Caesar 198) proclaimed Augustus
211 Death of Severus in York (4 February). Succeeded by Caracalla and Geta. Following the murder of Geta, Caracalla becomes sole emperor (26 December)

211 Murder of Papinian, possibly on the same day as Geta

212 Caracalla issues the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, universalizing Roman citizenship

213 Caracalla campaigns successfully against the Alamanni

214–17 Caracalla in the east, accompanied by his mother. He invades Parthia in 215, spends the winter of 215–16 at Antioch, then advances to the eastern borders of Adiabene
215 Massacre at Alexandria

215 Issue of *Antoninianus* silver coinage

217 Asassination of Caracalla near Carrhae (8 April). Macrinus becomes emperor, but is defeated in battle by supporters of Elagabalus and put to death (8 June 218)
217 Macrinus begins a campaign against the Parthians

(*cont.*)

Emperors	The West	The East	Culture, Religion, Society
218 Elagabalus proclaimed emperor at Raphaneae (16 May)		218 Macrinus agrees a dishonourable peace with Artabanus V (summer) 218–19 Elagabalus winters at Nicomedia	
	219 Elagabalus arrives in Rome (late summer) 220 Consulship of Elagabalus and Comazon		after 219 Cassius Dio completes his *History*
221 Elagabalus adopts his cousin, Alexianus, as Caesar, under the name of Marcus Aurelius Alexander (26 June)			
222 Elagabalus and his mother are murdered (13 March). His cousin succeeds him, taking the name of Severus Alexander	222 The lawyer Ulpian is *praefectus annonae*, and subsequently praetorian prefect		
	223 Murder of Ulpian		
		224 Artabanus V defeated and killed in battle by Ardashir	224 Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* *c*. 225 Death of Tertullian *c*. 225–30 The Ludovisi battle-sarcophagus
		226 Ardashir crowned king of kings of Iran	
	229 Second consulship of Cassius Dio		
		230 Persians under Ardashir invade Mesopotamia. Nisibis besieged	
	231 Severus Alexander departs Rome for the east (spring)		
		232 Severus Alexander campaigns unsuccessfully against Ardashir	232 Origen is exiled from Alexandria, and moves to Caesarea *c*. 232 Birth of Porphyry

234 Maximinus Thrax proclaimed emperor by Pannonian soldiers

235 Death of Severus Alexander and his mother, Julia Mamaea, near Mainz, after a mutiny (18/19 March). Maximinus Thrax confirmed as emperor by the senate

235 Maximinus campaigns successfully against the Alamanni

235–8 The Persians overrun Mesopotamia

236 Maximinus declares his son, Maximus, Caesar and deifies his own wife

236–7 Campaigns against the Sarmatians and Dacians

236 Capture of Nisibis and Carrhae

238 Gordian I and his son, Gordian II, declared emperors in Africa. Their claim is recognized by the senate, but they are defeated and killed near Carthage by the legate of Numidia. The senate elects Pupienus and Balbinus emperors (late April/early May). Upon their murder by the praetorians, Gordian III is proclaimed emperor (August)

238 Maximinus besieges Aquileia. He is murdered, along with his son (early June). The Goths and Dacian Carpi attack across the Danube

238–41 M. Tullius Menophilus governor of Moesia Inferior. He negotiates successfully with the Goths and Carpi (240)

240 Rebellion at Carthage under Sabinianus crushed

c. 240–5 The Achilles sarcophagus

241 Timesitheus appointed praetorian prefect

241 Shapur I succeeds his father Ardashir on the Persian throne. He launches an offensive upon Mesopotamia

242 A campaign against the Persians is inaugurated, under Timesitheus and Gordian (spring). Gordian winters in Antioch

242 Mani begins preaching his new religion

(*cont.*)

Emperors	The West	The East	Culture, Religion, Society
		243 Roman successes against the Persians. Timesitheus falls ill and dies	
244 Philip the Arabian acknowledged as emperor (early March)	244–6 and 248–53 Goths, Carpi and their allies invade Moesia and the Balkans	244 Shapur I defeats Romans. Gordian III dies, possibly of wounds. His successor, Philip the Arabian, makes peace with the Persians and departs for Rome	
247 Philip, the emperor's son (Caesar 244) is declared Augustus (August)			247–8 Dionysius bishop of Alexandria
	248 Millenary celebrations at Rome (21 April). Decius pacifies Moesia and Pannonia		248 Origen's *Contra Celsum*. Cyprian becomes bishop of Carthage
249 Trajanus Decius is declared emperor by his troops (June)	249 Philip is killed in battle with Decius near Verona (September)	249 Usurpation of Jotapian in Syria and/or Cappadocia	late 249 Persecution of Christians
	250 Etruscus campaigns against the Goths in Illyricum	250 Attempted usurpation of Titus Julius Priscus	*c.* 250 Birth of Iamblichus
	250 or 251 Usurpation of Valens at Rome		
251 Decius names his two sons, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilianus (Caesars 250) Augusti (May). Hostilianus proclaimed emperor with Trebonianus Gallus (May/June). Hostilianus dies soon afterwards. Gallus' son, Volusianus, proclaimed Augustus	251 Defeat and death of Decius and Herennius Etruscus on the Danube at the hands of the Goths under Cniva (May)		mid-third century: sporadic recurrence of plague throughout the empire
	252 Goths and others invade the Danubian provinces	252 Tiridates III is deposed by the Persians in Armenia. Under Shapur, they then attack Mesopotamia	*c.* 254 Death of Origen

253 Aemilianus is proclaimed emperor on the Danube, but is murdered some four months later by his troops near Spoletium. In the meantime, Valerian is proclaimed emperor by the Rhine legions. The senate recognize his claim, and make his son, Gallienus, Augustus

253 First Gothic sea-borne expedition to Asia Minor. Shapur invades Syria, capturing Doura and Antioch. Usurpation of Uranius Antoninus, who repulses the Persians

254 Marcommani in Pannonia. They raid Ravenna. Alamanni in Raetia and Gaul. Gallienus marches against them

254 Shapur captures Nisibis. Goths in Thrace. Valerian departs for the east, liberates Antioch and recaptures Doura. Usurpation of Uranius Antoninus ends

255 The Borani take Pityus and Trapezus. Valerian reaches Antioch. Second Gothic sea-borne expedition to Asia Minor

256 Gallienus in Cologne. He establishes a mint

257 Renewed persecution of Christians. Cyprian of Carthage exiled to Curubis

258 Death of Valerian II on campaign in Illyricum. The usurpation of Ingenuus in Moesia and Pannonia is crushed by Gallienus

258 Odenathus of Palmyra receives consular honours

258 Martyrdoms of Cyprian and Sixtus II, bishop of Rome

259 Alamanni invade Illyricum and Gaul, and Iuthungi invade Italy

259 Dionysius I, bishop of Rome

(*cont.*)

Emperors	The West	The East	Culture, Religion, Society
260 Macrianus and Quietus declared emperors	260 The Alamanni are repulsed by Gallienus, who then opens a mint at Milan. Simplicinius Genialis, governor of Raetia, is victorious over the Iuthungi. Usurpations of Postumus in Gaul, and of Regalianus on the Danube 260–7 Gallienus campaigning in Illyricum, with only brief returns to Rome	260 Valerian is defeated at Edessa by Shapur and captured. The Persians make further inroads into the eastern provinces	260 Gallienus ends persecution of the Christians (The 'Little Peace')
261 Macrianus killed in battle against Aureolus in Illyricum. Quietus executed at Emesa by Odenathus (November)		261 Odenathus of Palmyra recognised as *dux* and *corrector totius Orientis*. Usurpation of Valens in Macedonia. He is later killed by his own troops. Usurpation of Mussius Aemilianus, prefect of Egypt, ended the following year	
	262 Gallienus in Rome (briefly) to celebrate his *decennalia* (summer)	262 Odenathus successful against the Persians. He attempts to capture Ctesiphon. Goths in Asia Minor	262 Plague reaches Italy and Africa. Dedication of the arch of Gallienus at Rome
	264 Postumus celebrates his *quinquennalia* in Gaul (July?)		
	265 Gallienus campaigns unsuccessfully against Postumus		265 or 266 Gallienus is initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries at Athens
		266 Odenathus makes a second attempt upon Ctesiphon. Goths make another maritime raid on Asia Minor	
		266 or 267 Arrest and execution of Odenathus. His wife, Zenobia, secures power in the name of their infant son, Vaballathus	

267 *Quindecennalia* of Gallienus

267 Gallienus victorious in battle at Naïssus. Aureolus throws in his lot with Postumus, and is attacked at Milan by Gallienus

267 Gothic invasion of Greece, the Balkans and the Aegean. Sack of Athens

268 Murder of Gallienus at the siege of Milan (September). He is succeeded by Claudius II, who puts down the revolt of Aureolus

268 Goths attack Macedonia

268 Paul of Samosata is declared a heretic by a synod at Antioch

268 Alamanni invade northern Italy, but are defeated by Claudius II

269 Claudius is victorious over the Goths at Naïssus, and receives the title *Gothicus Maximus*. Postumus celebrates his *decennalia*, but is assassinated shortly afterwards (May or June). He is succeeded first by Marius, then by Victorinus

269 Zenobia extends her kingdom

270 Claudius II dies at Sirmium, a victim of the plague (January). The senate choose his brother, Quintillus, as emperor, but he reigns only 77 days. Aurelian declares himself in Sirmium

270 Palmyrene troops enter Alexandria. Zenobia annexes Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor

270 Death of Plotinus

271 Victorinus takes Autun. Aurelian campaigns against the Iuthungi in Raetia and Noricum, the Vandals and Sarmatians in Pannonia. New incursions into Italy by the Alamanni and Iuthungi. Aurelian's victories at Fano and Ticinum deliver Italy. Assassination of Victorinus at Cologne. Tetricus is declared emperor in Gaul. Evacuation of Dacia and creation of a new province, Dacia Ripensis

271 Vaballathus, the son of Zenobia, is declared Augustus

271 Construction of a new defensive wall around Rome begun

(*cont.*)

Emperors	The West	The East	Culture, Religion, Society
	272 or 273 Tetricus elevates his son Tetricus	272 Aurelian moves against the Palmyrenes. He reconquers Asia Minor and Egypt. He is victorious in Syria, at Daphne and Emessa. Zenobia is captured. Death of Shapur I, who is succeeded by Hormizd I 273 Revolt of Palmyra is ruthlessly suppressed. Hormizd I dies, and is succeeded by Vahran I	
	274 Aurelian campaigns in Gaul. Tetricus submits. Aurelian celebrates a triumph at Rome		274 Inauguration of Aurelian's temple of the Sun God and creation of a priesthood to administer it. Coinage reform
275 Murder of Aurelian (late September/early October). After a brief interregnum, Tacitus is declared emperor by the senate, with the support of the army (late November/early December)	275 Alamanni invade Gaul		
276 Tacitus is murdered and replaced by Florianus, who is recognized by the senate (June/July). Simultaneously, the eastern legions declare Probus emperor. Shortly afterwards, Florianus is assassinated by his troops in Tarsus (August)		276 Probus campaigns against the Goths in Anatolia, then winters in Sirmium. Death of Vahran I, succeeded by Vahran II	
	277–8 Probus recovers Gaul 278 Battles against Vandals and Burgundians in Raetia		

279 Suppression of Isaurian rebellion in Asia Minor. Siege of Cremna. Campaign against the Blemmyes in Egypt

280 Usurpation of Bonosus and Proculus

280 Frankish piracy in the Mediterranean, including a raid on Syracuse

281 Probus celebrates a triumph in Rome, and winters there

281 Usurpation of Saturninus. He is murdered by his own soldiers at Apamea

282 Murder of Probus near Sirmium (September–October). The soldiers acclaim Carus emperor

282 Carus campaigns against the Sarmatians and the Quadi

283 Death of Carus near Ctesiphon (July/August). He is succeeded by Carinus in the west and Numerian in the east (Caesars 282)

283 Carinus campaigns against the Germans in Gaul

283 Carus and Numerian take the offensive against Vahran II in Mesopotamia. Capture of Ctesiphon and Seleucis on the Tigris. Numerian winters in Syria

283 The *Cynegetica* of Nemesianus

284 Assassination of Numerian in Thrace at the instigation of his praetorian prefect, Aper (early November). He is succeeded by Diocles (20 November), who executes Aper and takes the name of Diocletian

285 Battle of the Margus between Diocletian and Carinus (April or May). Carinus is defeated, and subsequently killed by his own troops

285 Maximian defeats the Bagaudae under Amandus and Aelianus in Gaul (late summer), then repels a German invasion of Gaul (autumn). Diocletian campaigns against the Sarmatians

(*cont.*)

Emperors	The West	The East	Culture, Religion, Society
286 Maximian (Caesar 285) declared Augustus (1 March or 1 April)	286 Carausius declares himself Augustus in Britain (autumn)	286 Diocletian winters at Nicomedia, then summers in Palestine 287 Diocletian makes an agreement with Vahran II in Syria, and restores Tiridates III as ruler of Armenia	
	288 or 289 Conference between Diocletian and Maximian, possibly on the frontier of Raetia 289 Diocletian campaigns against the Sarmatians. Maximian defeated by Carausius		
	Dec. 290 or Jan. 291 Conference in Milan between Diocletian and Maximian	290 Diocletian campaigns against the Saraceni	
293 Constantius Chlorus and Galerius appointed Caesars in the west and east respectively (1 March). The first tetrarchy	293 Constantius captures Boulogne from Carausius. Carausius is killed by his minister Allectus, who continues to hold Britain	293 Death of Vahran II. Succeeded first by Vahran III, and then Narses I 293 or 294 Galerius suppresses a revolt in Upper Egypt	293 Introduction of diocesan organization *c*. 294 Coinage reform (or before 293) 295 Edict on Marriages (1 May)
	296 Constantius recovers Britain from Allectus. Diocletian defeats the Quadi on the Danube, and campaigns against the Carpi (summer/autumn)	296 Narses invades Armenia	
	297 Maximian combats a rebellion in Africa	297 Narses defeats Galerius near Carrhae (spring). Revolt in Egypt under L. Domitius Domitianus and Achilleus	*c*. 297 Purge of Christians in the army

298 Galerius captures Ctesiphon. Diocletian suppresses the revolt in Egypt. He besieges and captures Alexandria

299 Peace treaty with Persia

301 Currency reform (before September). Diocletian's Prices Edict (December)

302 Death of Narses, succeeded by Hormizd II

302 Rescript against the Manichaeans

303 Diocletian and Maximian celebrate their *vicennalia* at Rome (20 November). Galerius campaigns against the Carpi on the Danube

303 Great Persecution of the Christians begins (23 February)

304 Death of Pope Marcellinus

305 Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian (1 May). Constantius and Galerius succeed them, and appoint Severus and Maximin Daia Caesars. The second tetrarchy

306 Death of Constantius at York (25 July). Constantine proclaimed emperor of the west by Constantius' soldiers

306 Maxentius acclaimed as princeps by the praetorians, and enlists the support of his father, Maximian

307 Constantine marries Fausta. He is recognized as Augustus by Maximian. Death of Severus

307 Maxentius and Maximian ally with Constantine. Galerius invades Italy, but subsequently withdraws to Pannonia (autumn). Severus marches on Rome. He is forced to retreat by Maxentius and Maximian, and abdicates in Ravenna (spring)

307 First issue of the *solidus*

308 Conference at Carnuntum (11 November). Maximian is forced to retire a second time, and Licinius is invested as Augustus

308 Domitius Alexander rebels against Maxentius in Africa, but is suppressed the following year

309 Death of Hormizd II

309 Maximin's edict concerning the rebuilding of temples in Palestine

(*cont.*)

Emperors	The West	The East	Culture, Religion, Society
310 Death of Maximian after a revolt in Gaul. Maximin declared Augustus by his troops			310 Pamphilus executed
			c. 310 Lactantius becomes tutor to Crispus
311 Death of Galerius			311 Galerius' Edict of Tolerance (30 April). Persecution resumed by Maximin, and Peter of Alexandria martyred (November). Miltiades bishop of Rome
311 or 312 Death of Diocletian			
	312 Constantine is victorious over Maxentius at the battle of the Milvian Bridge (28 October)		312 Maximin's rescript expelling Christians from the cities
313 Marriage of Licinius to Constantia, Constantine's sister (February). Maximin commits suicide at Tarsus (*c.* July)		313 Licinius defeats Maximin near Adrianople (30 April)	313 Edict of freedom of religious belief issued jointly by Licinius and Constantine ('Edict of Milan'). Council in Rome condemns Donatists
	314 Constantine campaigns in Germany (autumn)		314 Council of Arles finds against Donatists. Verona List compiled. Introduction of the *chrysargyron*
	315 Constantine celebrates his *decennalia* at Rome		315 Arch of Constantine
	316 Battle of Cibalae between Constantine and Licinius (8 October), followed by reconciliation		
317 Crispus, younger Constantine and younger Licinius declared Caesars (1 March)			

321 Constantine abrogates responsibility for the Donatist controversy

324 Constantine elevates Helena and Fausta to the rank of Augusta. Constantius declared Caesar

324 Constantine defeats Licinius at the battle of Chrysopolis (18 September). Licinius is banished to Salonica. Foundation of the city of Constantinople (8 November)

325 Constantine celebrates his *vicennalia* at Nicomedia.

325 Council of Nicaea

326 Deaths of Crispus, Fausta and the younger Licinius

326 Constantine's *vicennalia* celebrated in Rome

326 Holy pilgrimage of Helena

c. 327 Death of Helena

330 Dedication of the city of Constantinople (11 May)

332 Constantine campaigns against the Goths

333 Constans declared Caesar (25 December)

334 Constantine campaigns against the Sarmatians

335 Dalmatius declared Caesar

335 Dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Council of Tyre. First exile of Athanasius

336 Constantine celebrates his *tricennalia* in Constantinople (25 July)

336 Council of Constantinople. Exile of Marcellus of Ancyra

337 Death of Constantine (22 May)

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ABBREVIATIONS

PAPYROLOGICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of papyrological publications which are not included in the following list may be found in J. F. Oates *et al., Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraka*, 4th edn. Atlanta, 1992, or the web edition: John F. Oates, Roger S. Bagnall, Sarah J. Clackson, Alexandra A. O'Brien, Joshua D. Sosin, Terry G. Wilfong, and Klaas A. Worp, *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>, Month, 200#.

AARC	*Atti dell'Academia Romanistica Costantiniana*
AAntHung	*Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
AArchHung	*Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
ABSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
AC	*L'Antiquité Classique*
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
AE	*L'Année épigraphique*
AJPh	*American Journal of Philology*
Annales (ESC)	*Annales (Économies, sociétés, civilisation)*
Annales (HSS)	*Annales (Histoire, Sciences sociales)*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
AntAfr	*Antiquités Africaines*
ARS	A. C. Johnson, P. R. Coleman-Norton and F. C. Bourne, *Ancient Roman Statutes*. Austin, TX, 1961
ASR	*Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, ed. C. Robert, Berlin, 1890–
AT	*L'Antiquité Tardive*
Aur. Vict. *Caes.*	Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*
BAH	Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BAR Int. Ser.	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
BAR Suppl. Ser.	British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome

BEO	*Bulletin des Études Orientales*
BGU	*Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen/Staatlichen Museum zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*. Berlin, 1895–
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
BIDR	*Bullettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano*
BJ	*Bonner Jahrbücher*
BMC	*Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. V (Pertinax to Elagabalus). H. Mattingly, London, 1950; VI (Severus Alexander to Balbinus and Pupienus). R. A. G. Carson, London, 1962
BRGK	*Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission*
BSAC	*Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*
BSFN	*Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique*
BSNAF	*Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
Bull. Ép.	*Bulletin épigraphique* in *Revue des Études Grecques*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*: vol. X^2 (1996), XI^2 (2000), XII^1 (1939), XIII (1998); XIV (2000)
Cahiers Glotz	*Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz*
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CE	*Chronique d'Égypte*
CEFR	Collection de l'École française de Rome
Chron. Min. I	T. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* I (Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi 9). Berlin, 1892
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CIMRM	*Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, ed. M. J. Vermaseren, The Hague, 1956–60
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*
CJ	*Codex Iustinianus*
CLRE	R. S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S. R. Schwartz and K. A. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association 36). Atlanta, 1987
Coll.	*Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio* (in *FIRA* II.544–89)
Cons.	*Consultatio Veteris cuiusdam Iurisconsulti* (in *FIRA* II.594–613)
CPh	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus*
D	*Digest*
DHA	*Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne*
Diz. Ep.	E. de Ruggiero *et al.*, *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane*. Rome, 1886–
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
EA	*Epigraphica Anatolica*

EPRO	*Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain*, ed. M. J. Vermaseren, Leiden, 1961–
ES	*Epigraphische Studien*
ESAR	*An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, ed. T. Frank: I, *Rome and Italy of the Republic*; II, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*; III, *Roman Britain, Roman Spain, Roman Sicily, La Gaule Romaine*; IV, *Roman Africa, Roman Syria, Roman Greece, Roman Asia*; V, *Rome and Italy of the Empire*. Baltimore, 1933–40
Eus. *Hist. Eccl.*	Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*
Eus. *Vit. Const.*	Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*
Eutr.	Eutropius
Expositio	*Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*, ed. J. Rougé, SC 124. Paris, 1967
FD III	*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, *Épigraphie*. Paris, 1909–85
FGrH	*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby
FHG	*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. K. Müller. Paris, 1878–85
FIRA	S. Riccobono *et al.*, *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani*, 2nd edn, 3 vols. [I, *Leges*; II, *Auctores*; III, *Negotia*]. Florence, 1940–3
FV	*Fragmenta Vaticana* (in *FIRA* II.464–540)
GCN	M. E. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero*. Cambridge, 1967
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten jahrhunderte*
GLP	D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, vol. I (= *Select Papyri* III) (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, MA and London, 1942
G&R	*Greece and Rome*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
H.	The Hatran Inscriptions: see Part V, ch. 16 n. 39
HAC^{1}	*Historia Augusta Colloquia*, original series. Bonn, 1964–91
HAC^{2}	*Historia Augusta Colloquia*, new series. Macerata, 1991, thereafter Bari, 1994–
HAW	*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*
Herod.	Herodian
HLL	*Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
IA	*Iranica Antiqua*
IAM	M. Euzennat, J. Marion and J. Gascou, *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc* II. Paris, 1982
I. Aryk.	S. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Arykanda* (IGSK 48). Bonn, 1994
ICret	M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, 4 vols. Rome, 1935–50
I. Cyme	*Die Inschriften von Kyme*, ed. H. Engelmann (IGSK 5). Bonn, 1976
I. Eph.	*Die Inschriften von Ephesos* (IGSK 11–17). 8 vols. in 10. Bonn, 1979–84
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*

IGBulg	G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, 5 vols. in 6. Sofia, 1958–97
IGF	J.-CL. Decourt. *Inscriptions grecques de la France (IGF)*. Lyons, 2004
IGLS	*Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*
IGRR	R. Cagnat *et al.*, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, 3 vols. (I, 3, 4). Paris, 1906–27
IGSK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
ILAfr	R. Cagnat, A. Merlin and L. Chatelain, *Inscriptions Latines d'Afrique (Tripolitanie, Tunisie et Maroc)*. Paris, 1923
ILM	L. Chatelain, *Inscriptions Latines du Maroc*. Paris, 1942
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
IME	*Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine: Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des grecs en Égypte*, ed. E. Bernand. Paris, 1969
IMS	F. Papazoglou *et al.*, *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*. Belgrade: I (Singidunum and NW area, 1976); II (Viminacium and Margum, 1986); III.2 (Timacum Minus and Timok valley, 1995); IV (Naissus–Remesiana–Horreum Margi, 1979); VI (Scupi and Kumanovo region, 1982)
InscrIt	*Inscriptiones Italiae*. Rome, 1931–
Inv. Pal.	Cantineau, J. *et al.*, *Inventaire des Inscriptions de Palmyre*. 12 fascicles: I–IX (J. Cantineau), Beirut; X (J. Starcky), Damascus; XI (J. Teixidor), Beirut; XII (A. Bounni and J. Teixidor), Damascus. (1930–75)
IRT	J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*. Rome, 1952
I. Smyrn.	G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* (IGSK 23, 24), 2 vols. in 3. Bonn, 1982–90
It. Ant.	*Itineraria Antonini Augusti* (O. Cuntz, ed., *Itineraria Romana* I. Stuttgart, 1929 (repr. 1990))
JBAA	*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JJP	*Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRGZM	*Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JS	*Journal des Savants*
JSAS	*Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*
JThS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
Knopf-Krüger	R. Knopf, and G. Krüger, *Ausgewählte Martyrakten*, 4. Aufl. Tübingen, 1965

Lact. *DMP*	Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*
LoisRom	*Les Lois des Romains: 7e édition par un groupe de romanistes des 'Textes de droit romain' tome II de Paul Frédéric Girard et Félix Senn*, ed. V. Giuffrè (Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Giurisprudenza della Università di Camerino 12). Naples, 1977
LSCG	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (École française d'Athènes, Travaux et mémoires 18). Paris, 1969
MAAR	*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
MAL	*Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*. 10 vols. Manchester, then London, 1928–93
MBAH	*Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte*
MEFRA	*Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité*
MPER n.s.	Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien. New Series, 1932–
Münch.Beitr.	Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université St Joseph*
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
NDIEC	G. H. R. Horsley, R. A. Kearsley, and S. R. Llewelyn, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*: I (1981); II (1982); III (1983); IV (1987); V (1989); VI (1992); VII (1994), North Ryde, NSW; VIII (1998), Grand Rapids, MI
NZ	*Numismatische Zeitschrift*
OCD[3]	*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, eds. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, 3rd edn. Oxford, 1996
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1903–5
OLP	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*
OR	*Opuscula Romana*
Origo	*Origo Constantini*, ed. I. König. Trier, 1987
P&P	*Past and Present*
PACT	*Physical, Chemical and Mathematical Techniques applied to Archaeology*
PAES	E. Littmann *et al.*, *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria*. III: Greek and Latin Inscriptions. A, Southern Syria (Leiden, 1904–21); B, Northern Syria (Leiden, 1908–22); IV: Semitic Inscriptions (Leiden, 1914–49)
Pan. Lat.	*Panegyrici Latini* (cited in the numeration of Mynors' Oxford Classical Text (1964) and Nixon and Rodgers, *Panegyrici*)
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
P. Cairo Isid.	A. E. R. Boak and H. C. Youtie, *The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo and the University of Michigan*. Ann Arbor, 1960
P. Col. 123	see Westermann and Schiller, *Apokrimata*

PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PE	Diocletian's *Prices Edict* (see Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani*)
PECS	R. Stillwell *et al.*, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*. Princeton, 1976
P. Euphr.	see Feissel and Gascou, 'Documents'; plus *JS* (1995) 61–118; *JS* (1997) 3–57; *JS* (2000) 157–208; *CRAI* (1990) 144–66; *Semitica* 41–2 (1991–2): 195–208
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
P. Giss.	O. Eger *et al.*, *Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen*. Leipzig–Berlin, 1910–12
P. Giss. Lit.	*Die Giessener literarischen Papyri und die Caracalla-Erlasse*, ed. P. A. Kuhlmann (Berichte und Arbeiten aus der Universitätsbibliothek und dem Universitätsarchiv Giessen 46). Giessen, 1994
PGM	K. Preisendanz and A. Henrichs, *Papyri Graecae Magicae: die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2nd edn. Stuttgart, 1973–74
PIR	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
PLRE	A. H. M. Jones, R. Morris and R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols. Cambridge, 1971–92
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
P. Oxy.	B. P. Grenfell *et al.*, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. London, 1898–
P. Panop. Beatty	T. C. Skeat, *Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin*. Dublin, 1964
RAC	*Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*
RlAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RAL	*Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RBPh	*Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*
RE	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
REA	*Revue des Études Anciennes*
REArm	*Revue des Études Arméniennes*
REAug	*Revue des Études Augustiniennes*
REByz	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
RES	*Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique publié par la Commission du Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, vol. v, ed. G. Ryckmans. Paris, 1929
RFIC	*Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*
RGDS	*Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (see also *ŠKZ*)
RHDFE	*Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*
RIB	*The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, vol. 1, 1965, rev. edn 1995
RIC	*Roman Imperial Coinage*. v.1 (Valerian 1 to Florian), P. H. Webb, London, 1927; v.2 (Probus to Amandus), P. H. Webb, London, 1933; vi (Diocletian's reform to Maximinus), C. H. Sutherland

	and R. A. G. Carson, London, 1967; VII (Constantine and Licinius), P. Bruun, London, 1966
RICH	A. S. Robertson, *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, University of Glasgow*. III (Pertinax to Aemilian) Oxford, 1977; IV (Valerian to Allectus) Oxford, 1978
RIDA	*Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité*
RN	*Revue Numismatique*
RPC I	A. Burnett, M. Amandry and P. P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, Vol. I: *From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 B.C.–A.D. 69)*. London and Paris, 1992
RPh	*Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes*
RS I	*Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, I: *Rom und Ostia*, eds. F. Deichmann, G. Bovini and H. Brandenburg. Wiesbaden, 1967
RS II	*Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage,* II: *Italien mit einem Nachtrag Rom und Ostia, Dalmatien, Museen der Welt*, eds. T. Ulbert and J. Dresken-Weiland. Mainz, 1998
RSA	*Rivista Storica dell'Antichità*
SB	*Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-historische Klasse)
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCO	*Studi classici e orientali*
SDHI	*Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SHA	*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*
SIG^{3}	W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn, 4 vols. Leipzig, 1915–24
ŠKZ	*Šabuhrs I. an der Kaʿba-i Zardušt = Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (see Huyse, *ŠKZ*; Sprengling, *Iran*)
SÖAW	Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-historische Klasse)
Soc.	Socrates Scholasticus
Soz.	Sozomen
StAmst	Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris*. Vienna, 1901–
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TAVO	*Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*
TIR	*Tabula Imperii Romani*; for individual maps, see details in Bibliography Part III
Tit. Ulp.	*Tituli ex Corpore Ulpiani* = Ulpian's *Regulae* (*FIRA* II.262–301)
TR	*Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis (Revue d'Histoire du Droit)*
TZ	*Trierer Zeitschrift*
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*

ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
Zon.	Zonaras
Zos.	Zosimus
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZRG	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Romanistische Abteilung*

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